

291 (cf. Photos. 5, 25, 69). This may corroborate the conjecture of
 [114] the evolutionist Von den Steinen (2, 192) that the waist cord for-
 [174] merly had the function of the penis sheath. Among present-day
 Tapirapé this cord may be regarded, along with the tembetá, as
 [482] a prerogative of the males. It is rarely used to carry [105:88]
 [412] things. Occasionally they will hang a comb from it, or in recent
 times a pair of scissors as well.

114 Dr. Charles Wagley told me that in 1939 he found straps for
 854 carrying children that were worn by the Tapirapé women over the
 177 shoulder and across the chest. In 1937, Dominican missionaries
 had gone up the Tapirapé River with large quantities of fabrics.
 The straps were made of those fabrics. It is interesting to note
 that in 1935 there were no such objects in existence. It is inter-
 esting because it would have been possible to carry the children
 in small hammocks. Furthermore, I had given away many pieces
 of cloth which could have been used as straps for carrying children.
 [171] Such straps not only are used by the neighboring Kayapó (Krause,
 2, 394) but are also a typical cultural trait of the Tupí Indians.
 [Ed., two sentences are omitted.] It is worth noting, however,
 that straps for carrying children are not used by the eastern neigh-
 bors of the Tapirapé, that is to say, the Karajá (Krause 2, 276
 and Plates 12, 37, and 42).

In the case of the Tapirapé, it was apparently the numerous
 pieces of fabric brought by the Dominicans in 1937 that played a
 decisive role in the introduction of straps for carrying children. In
 291 1935, all the fabrics and cloth articles coming from our factories
 177 had a merely decorative function among those Indians. The men
 [562] alone used them, since most adornments are prerogatives of their
 [301] sex and such impressive ornaments as those made of feathers and
 claws are worn only by them. Kamairahó, the most important
 chief, liked best of all to wear a red dress which his wife had re-
 ceived as a gift. Thus, the aim the giver had in mind, probably
 inspired by catechizing hopes, was missed entirely for the lady
 remained altogether naked while her husband was covered down to
 177 the knees and below. It is worth noting, however, that in the even-
 297 ing, when Kamairahó retired, he would undress and carefully fold
 513 the garment. Thus, at an hour when every protection against the
 mosquitoes and the cold would have seemed to me exceedingly

171 Another occasion to cut the hair short is the death of a close
302 relative, when not only the males (cf. Photos. 51 and 52) but the
765 opposite sex as well (Photo. 64) are compelled to undergo this
procedure. This custom is quite widespread in South America.
[Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

302 Among the Tapirapé at the present time, the hair is cut with
[177] scissors received from the Whites. [Ed., the remainder of p. 107
412] is omitted, which includes the beginning of the sentence finished
the top of p. 108.]

[107:108] . . . in 1614, Father Claude d'Abbeville (267)
302 wrote of the hair of the Tupinambá of Maranhão: "[Ed., two
171 sentences are omitted.] They [the women] are quite meticulous
515 about combing their hair and do not fail to wash it and rub it
with oil and Roucou every morning" [translated from French].
[Ed., three paragraphs are omitted.]

[314] Some Tapirapé comb their hair with great care, although they
do not wash it as frequently as the Tupinambá women observed
by Father Claude, or massage it as often with oil and urucú. They
would no doubt anoint it more frequently if it were not for the
scarcity of the raw material, a palm nut that grows only at certain
times of year. This scarcity impelled an honest matron to steal
from us our only bottle of oil, which we had brought to remedy the
lack of fat in the diet. Instead of lining our stomachs, the entire
liter of nutritious liquid ended up on the good woman's head. [Ed.,
the last paragraph of p. 108 is omitted.]

302 [107:109] The Tapirapé also put urucú in their hair, but only
[881] on special occasions. They apply it to boys on the festive day of
[764] initiation, to girls on the day when their first menstruation ends,
and to the dead. It may have religious significance, but I cannot
tell.

515 Aside from hair combing, delousing is a gesture of love. The
593 bugs caught end their existence between the teeth of the catcher,
who thus swallows the blood of his or her beloved. This tender duty
is performed on a mutual basis by parents and children and by
loving spouses. Girls show the greatest enthusiasm for this type
of quest. It does happen, however, that an old man still delouses
an already married son (cf. Photo. 55).

826 Not only do they avoid losing the blood stolen by lice and
261 mosquitoes by eating the culprits caught in the act, but they also

302 genipap. They have given up for keeps the tamankurá or cotton
881 ornaments they wore in childhood. Some of them change names,
[553] if they did not already do so at the time of their first menstruation.
They eat nothing but green-maize cauf [a soup]. Both men and
women sing the kaó, a kind of national anthem. When the whole
ceremony is over, the girl is painted with the genipap stripes
characteristic of women.

304 The tattooing is done by certain mature men. They need not
412 be sorcerer--medicine men, but some of them are, like Urukumy
for example (Photo. 53). The aim of the tattooing is to different-
iate the women from the girls. The small knife used to make the
incisions (Photo. 22) is called voamé. It consists of a fragment of
[237] rodent incisor embedded in a small piece of thin cane wrapped in
a narrow strip of philodendron inner bark. This strip strengthens
[314] the small rod, which was previously covered with resin to provide
a better hold. The tooth fragment in the knife reproduced here
(Photo. 22) consists of that part of a paca (kanoanó) incisor nearest to
[237] the gum, and thus not of its cutting section. The edge was created
by scraping the fragment with a knife. Sometimes the fragment is
also taken from the tooth of an agouti (akutí, ankuchí), another
rodent that, like the paca, belongs to the Caviidae family.

304 Krause (2, 404) writes of Tapirapé tattooing: "Tattooing exists
114 among married women; they cut vertical lines in their chins, and
a line that goes down obliquely from either side of the mouth."
As we can see, this does not quite agree with the tattooing I ob-
served. And the drawings published by Krause (*ibid.*, Fig. 262),
although they disagree with the description above by the same author
in showing several oblique lines originating at the corners of the
lips, rather than just one, still do not resemble the crossed horizon-
tal and vertical lines that I saw on the faces of Tapirapé women.
[Ed., the last paragraph of p. 115, pp. 116-119 which include
several pages of comparative data on scarification, and all but the
last paragraph on p. 120 are omitted.]

304 107:120] To summarize, we may say that the special character
171 of female tattooing differentiates the Tapirapé from all neighboring
[114] tribes about which anything is known in this connection. The data
of Herrmann Meyer about the Aravine and their tattooing, which
are given in Chapter 4 of this work, are not sufficient to be taken
into account in studying this topic. It should be pointed out further

304 Like the ear perforation, that of the lower lip is restricted to members of the male sex among the inhabitants of Tampiitáua. According to them, it is also made by the mother with a bone needle on the morning following the birth of her child. The Tapirapé do not have a generic name for the objects inserted into the artificial lip opening, which vary with the age of the wearer. 301 When they want to refer to a lip ornament without specifying 237 which one, they merely say emekuana (emeguana, temekuana), or [192] emekuanf if a small boy is concerned. Emé means "lower lip" (cheremé, "my lower lip"), kuana means "hole," and i is a diminutive (kuanf, "little hole"). The opening in a child's lip is indeed much smaller than in that of an adult such as Kamairá (Photo. 57). They insert a bone there until the time when the boy who is about to be initiated has his hair cut, and this bone grows along with its wearer (Photos. 3, 6, 25, 28, 61). Thus, a boy who was about five years old wore a wild-pig bone nine and a half centimeters long and from two to four millimeters wide, with a crosspiece about eight millimeters wide (Photo. 18). A boy of eight or ten had a deer bone 25 centimeters long and three to five [109:77] in diameter, with a crosspiece one centimeter wide (Photo. 17). Rhea bones were also used as boys' lip ornaments. The bone is introduced from the inside, so that the crosspiece remains inside the mouth to secure the ornament.

[302] When a boy's hair is cut, a year before his initiation ceremony, the deer bone is replaced with the wooden plug worn by [381] the men (Photo. 19a). Some of those plugs contain the embedded tooth of a tapiti (Sylvilagus minensis, tampichf in Tapirapé) (Photo. 55). The plug with a tooth shown in Photograph 19a is about eight to ten millimeters in diameter and six millimeters along its full length, or in other words, four millimeters in the wooden section and two millimeters in the projecting part of the tooth. The piece that secures the plug is two centimeters wide. [324] The plugs are made with the pointed excrescences found on the trunks of a tree called tanchimoyva in Tapirapé. The one reproduced here (Photo. 19b) is 25 millimeters long and from 15 to 25 millimeters wide.

301 At the initiation ceremony, however, and only on that great day, the boy wears an ornament that would qualify for the Tupi name tembetá, from tembé, "lower lip," and itá, "stone." This [324] [381]

171 however, differ from those of the Tapirapé in lacking a "plug."
 301 I know of no such "plugs" on the stone lip cylinders of the ancient
 Tupinambá. Those found on the São Paulo coast and in the vicinity of
 Bahia, reproduced by H. von Ihering (*apud* Wegner 3, 34, Fig.
 5), do not have any. [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 79, p. 80,
 and the first two paragraphs on p. 81 are omitted.]

[109:81] To summarize, it may be said that among the
 Tapirapé, just as among the Tupinambá, Karajá, and Kayapó, the
tembetá is an exclusively male ornament that varies in its shape
 and material according to the age of the wearer. The Tapirapé
 differ from the Tupinambá in that adults do not have the coin-
 shaped stone tembetá mentioned by Léry. As far as material,
 shape, and size are concerned, the differences between the
 Tapirapé, Karajá, and Kayapó tembetá are, on the whole, greater
 than the resemblances. The Central Tupi differ from the Tapirapé
 in not having any lip ornaments.

The arm and leg ornaments made of cotton dyed with urucú
 are a striking link between the Tapirapé and Karajá cultures. They
 are everyday ornaments worn by both sexes. Among the Karajá,
 according to [109:82] Krause (2, 226), they are "the distinctive
 badge of unmarried men, therefore used from earliest childhood
 until marriage, and in widowhood." The same author (*ibid.*) adds,
 however, that these bands may also be used by married men "if
 their wives are pleased with them."

Among the Tapirapé, I saw married men wearing the cotton
 ornaments called tamankurá in their language. This name covers
 three different kinds, namely, the bracelet, the garter, and the
 [462] ankle band. They are all made by the women with the crochet
 [412] needle (chufúnia, chu meaning "thorn"), which was originally made
 [439] of bone and today, as a result of White imports, may also be of
 metal. Among the Karajá, this is also woman's work (cf. *ibid.*).

The bracelets (dexí in Karajá) are cylinders with reinforced,
 outcurving edges. Each of the two bracelets that had been worn
 by a Tapirapé man and are reproduced in Photograph 14b is 14
 centimeters long, 19 centimeters in circumference at the upper
 end, and 17 at the lower end, while the upper edge is four centi-
 meters wide and the lower one two and a half centimeters wide.
 The initial phase of their manufacture is shown in Photograph 11.

171 the new layer of charcoal, and repeat this until the tree is felled."
241 [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

[113:194] I do not know whether the Tapirapé used the method described by Stradelli. I heard that they felled large trees by setting up a fire beneath the roots. If this is confirmed by the vestiges of carbonization on the roots of fallen trunks and in the holes lying around them, which were still visible in the old plots in 1935, not much time would have elapsed since fire was used for this purpose. Considering that the Tapirapé have owned [177] iron axes for dozens of years, it should then be assumed that fire was used in connection with these products of our civilization.

174 In any case, I did not find stone axes among the Tapirapé,
412 nor did I find anyone in Tampiitaua who had used them, or anyone who had found similar implements at sites formerly occupied by the tribe. Of course, there is no doubt that the Tapirapé did possess them in the past, and they may have been as small as those of the Ampanesá, according to the Tapirapé. It is certain, however, that 174 several generations ago the Tapirapé obtained iron objects 412 (itanchoa, "iron," "glass," from ita, "stone," and choa, "yellow") 439 through the Karajá, and not only axes, but bush knives as well (kyché-eté, from kyché, "knife," and eté, "real," an augmentative, the term kiché being already mentioned in the Vocabulário da Língua Brasileira [Vocabulary of the Indigenous Brazilian Language] as quigce, by Montoya as quicé [author: i= y in our spelling], and by Stradelli as kicé). [177] It is worth noting that the Tapirapé, who have used metal cutting tools for so long, cannot bring themselves to sharpen them, although this procedure has already been taught to them several times by the Whites, who also offered them sharpening stones. This is an illustration of the fact that the acceptance of foreign cultural traits does not necessarily imply the acceptance of all the procedures connected with them.

241 On July 30, I witnessed the felling of some trees, carried out
476 as a collective endeavor called apachirú by the Tapirapé (the puchirum of the frontiersmen in the states of Pará and Amazonas). The leader, Tanuapanchoa, marked out the forest sections to be cleared by going to those places without saying a word and attacking a tree with his ax. He showed that he was the leader by working more than the others. The other men selected their own trees around his as they pleased. They incised the small ones and finally

241 cut down the biggest one. Throughout this work, they only used
 476 axes with rather long handles (Photos. 56 and 61). Each man hit
 the trunks at the level most convenient to him, so that the stumps
 varied in height from 30 to 90 centimeters. After extreme exer-
 tion for a while, each man would rest until he felt like resuming
 his task. They were all quite diligent. And as I watched those
 men, most of them [113:195] endowed with the physique of our
 adolescents, conquer piece after piece of the huge forest around
 [476] them, I saw none of the sometimes gloomy seriousness or tedious-
 ness that characterizes so much of the collective work among us.
 Joyous shouts echoed and peals of laughter rang out on every side,
 as though they were performing a very amusing game.

221 Since the time when the trees are felled is the driest of the
 241 year, the leaves and branches of the toppled trees wither more
 rapidly and become easily combustible. The Tapirapé set fire
 to them and then do their planting between the felled and nearly
 carbonized trees as soon as the rains come to nurture the vegeta-
 tion. Thus, the chief time for planting falls in November and
 December, but in certain areas of higher humidity it comes as
 early as October.

244 To plant yams, cará [Tr., another kind of yam], and manioc,
 [412] the Indians use the hoe to dig a funnel-shaped hole, from one to
 one and a half meters in diameter and depth at the center, in
 which they pile up the earth in the shape of a cone. They slip
 into this cone four or five yam protuberances or an equal number of
cará knobs, that is to say, fragments or "eyes" of the respective
 tubers, or four or five manioc shoots. [Ed., the remainder of
 p. 195 and the first two lines of p. 196 are omitted.]

[412] [113:196] The dibble is used by the Tapirapé to plant maize,
 241 peanuts, and cotton in straight lines that ride over the fallen
 trunks and other irregularities in the terrain and lie about four
 meters apart. In planting cotton, around December, they place
 several seeds in each hole and keep the holes about two meters
 apart; the distance is smaller when planting maize or peanuts.
 Weeding also begins in December. Maize, peanuts, and cotton
 are harvested from June to August. Manioc and bananas are
 gathered throughout the year. Bananas and maize are gathered
 when still green and hung under the house roof to ripen, for there
 are many forest animals interested in eating them. The plots,

235 [113:198] I did not see any tamed animals in Tampiitaua. In my talks with the inhabitants, however, I gathered that, like Indians in general, they would have liked to have such animals, and that they had formerly owned various mammals and wild birds. The most important among these were the red-blue-and-green macaw (Ara chloroptera Gray, arana in Tapirapé), much rarer in the Araguaia basin than the blue-and-yellow macaw (Ara ararauna Lin., kaniné in Tapirapé), for the [113:199] former's red feathers are more highly prized as ornaments than the latter's blue and yellow ones. This is the case not only among the Tapirapé, 171 but also among the Karajá, and this is why shortly before my ar- 235 rival to the Araguaia a man of this tribe of canoeemen had traded in a canoe, which at that time and in that area was worth from 50 to 100 milreis or one rifle, for the nestling of a red-blue-and-green macaw. At the time when the Karajá traded regularly with 439 the Tapirapé, these nestlings were one of the chief commodities of trade.

[412] This trade, through which the Tupi tribe received iron articles [241] in exchange for tamed macaws, urucú, hammocks, quartz tembetá, and other products of their industry, actually played a decisive role in their subsistence, owing especially to the importance of the iron tools in farming. In this respect, it was fortunate for the Tapirapé that they established direct contact with the Whites shortly after they broke relations with the Karajá. For the lack of iron tools among people who had never worked with stone axes would probably have led either to rash behavior in their "foreign relations," or to intratribal conflicts.

797 Thus, as far as the subsistence of the Tapirapé is concerned, [412] their most important relations with the Whites are their contacts with the Dominicans, which have occurred with some regularity every year or two since 1914 and which keep them supplied with the necessary tools. Actually, no real trading is involved in this case, since as a rule the Indians are not required to furnish any products of their industry in exchange for the materials, but only to pay attention to certain words and procedures peculiar to the Fathers. This 437 is not to say that they are ignorant of the concept of reciprocal trade 123 with the Whites. When I wanted to acquire an arrow for my collection, they not only knew how to set high prices, but also how to raise the value of the common object by calling it a "captain's

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Plate 31.

292

585

Tapirapé Woman
Pounding Urucú.



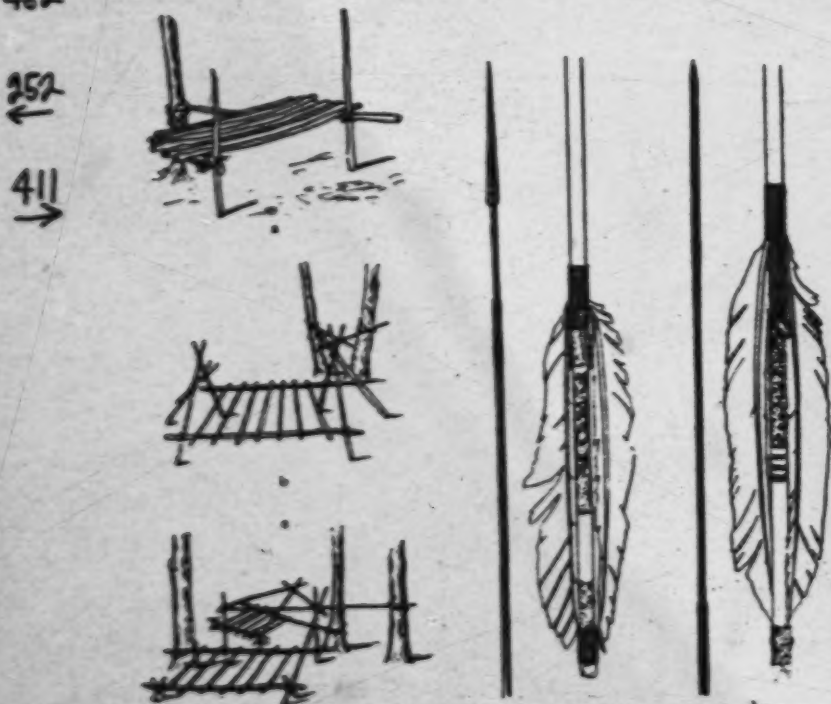
Plate 32.

Tapirapé Masked Dancer.

/409 cont./

252
[812] were lashed together with bast. They were obviously cut to size with stone axes, whereas thinner branches showed sharp knife cuts. Thus, iron knives have made their appearance here as a result of the carrying trade, even before a white man has seen the people themselves.

251
482 The roasted booty is apparently taken along by the Indians



Ill. 269 a-c.

Grills from the large
roasting place of the
Tapirape.

Ill. 270 a, b. Arrows.

251
482 on their further expeditions to other water places. For this purpose they use transport back-baskets as well as smaller carrying bags, of which I brought along a selection from the specimens lying about at the roasting places.